

# Athanasius Kircher's

## China Illustrata

ATHANASIUS KIRCHER (1), the compiler of *China Monumentis, qua Sacris qua Profanis,... Illustrata...*, Amstelodami, 1667, was born in Geisa, near Fulda in Germany, May 2, 1602. This fact accounts for the future epithets, "Bucho" (Buchonius, that in the Upper Rhone,—Buchonia,—his birth place), or "Fuldensis" which in later years he habitually used in his titles (after Fulda) (2). KIRCHER entered the Jesuit Order in 1618, and studied mathematics, humanities and oriental languages (Coptic, Hebrew, Syriac) in Fulda, Cologne, and Mainz. From 1629 to 1631 he lectured at the University of Warzburg on mathematics, from 1633 to 1635 at Avignon he studied hieroglyphs (3). From France he

(1) CARLOS SOMMERVOGEL, S. J., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*. Nouvelle édition, 10 vols. (Bruxelles-Paris, 1890-1909); 5 fascicules *Corrections et additions à la Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus. Supplément au De Backer-Sommervogel*, par ERNEST M. RIVIÈRE, S. J., (Toulouse, 1911, 1913, 1914-1917, 1911-1930, 1930). See vol. IV, cols. 1046-1077. *Nouvelle biographie générale* (Paris, Frères Didot, 1855-1866), vol. XXVII, cols. 769-776. *Larousse du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1928-1933), vol. IV, p. 249. *Der Grosse Herder* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1931-1933), vol. VI, col. 1416. *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana* (Barcelona, 1926-1930), vol. XXVIII, part II, p. 3454. *Der Grosse Brockhaus* (Leipzig, 1928-1935), vol. X, p. 172. *Dictionnaire d'archéologie Chrétienne et de liturgie* (Paris, 1924-), vol. VIII, part I, cols. 772-805. *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1930-1938), vol. V, col. 1052. *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1907-1914), vol. VIII, pp. 661-662. *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* (ed. 14th, Chicago, 1936), vol. XIII, pp. 410-411. *Kirchenlexicon oder Encyclopädie der katolischen Theologie und ihrer Hilfswissenschaften* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1882-1903), vol. VII, cols. 716-717. *Enciclopedia Italiana* (Roma, 1929-1938), vol. XX, p. 209. *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* (Leipzig, 1875-1912), vol. XVI (1882), pp. 1-4. *Biographie universelle (Michaud) ancienne et moderne* (Paris, 1842-1865), vol. XXI, pp. 642-646.

(2) E.g. the beginning of the title of *Prodromus Coptus*, ed. Romae, 1636: *Athanasii Kircheri Fuldensis Buchonii e Soc. Jesu prodromus Coptus sive Aegyptiacus...*

(3) In France he became the friend of PIERRE GASSENDI (1592-1655), philosopher and mathematician, proficient in Greek and Hebrew literature. GASSENDI was of the opinion that the Copernican system rested on scientific probabilities and



FIG. 1. A rare portrait of A. KIRCHER in his 62nd year of age, in *China illustrata*. KIRCHER saw in Chinese culture and language close affinities in ancient times with Pharaonic Egypt.

went to Rome where he was professor of mathematics at the Collegium Romanum until 1634 (4). The rest of his life he devoted to writing. He died in Rome on the 28th November, 1680. During his long sojourn in Rome, KIRCHER met many missionaries departing for or returning from the Far East, usually China. Personal contacts with them and easy access to the central archives of the Jesuits in Rome made possible a vast knowledge of the material and human experience in this esoteric world.

KIRCHER was a scholar of extraordinary enterprise and intellectual ability; a typical savant of the XVIIIth century, he interested himself mainly in the study of science in its various manifestations. During a long, and laborious life he produced many interesting and valuable treatises on various subjects (5), in which he exhibited a remarkable virtuosity. His studies and writings covered practically all fields both in the humanities and the sciences, including optics, music, magnetism, acoustics, arithmetic, astronomy, astrology, physics, archeology, philosophy, theology, philology and geology, as well as prestidigitation and magic. Despite this diversity, the scholarly character of his work, by seventeenth century standards, was high and he accordingly merits the title of a great polyhistor. A tendency to interest himself in recondite and curious questions led him to the study of orientology and found expression in works on Egyptian hieroglyphs (6) and

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accordingly refuted all objections against it in the work *De rebus coelestibus*, c. V, vol. V, *Opera omnia*. Lyons, 1658. KIRCHER also was of the same opinion as P. GASSENDI. Cf. B. SZCZESNIAK, "Notes on the penetration of Copernican theory into China XVII-XIX centuries," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London, 1945), pp. 30-38; PASQUALE M. D'ELIA, *Galileo in Cina. Relazioni attraverso il Collegio Romano tra Galileo e i gesuiti scienziati missionari in Cina (1610-1640)*, Roma, (1947), pp. 14, n. 3; 46, n. 1.

(4) Among KIRCHER's students was GASPARD SCHOTT (1608-1666), professor of mathematics at Augsburg, and author of books on physics including optics and acoustics. Cf. C. SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, vol. VII, col. 903. Another student of KIRCHER was GEORG ADAM STRUVE (1619-1692), lawyer, writer, president of the College of Lawyers in Jena. Cf. *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, vol. XXVI (1893), pp. 677-687.

(5) For KIRCHER's linguistic interest see G. E. MCCracken, "ATHANASIUS KIRCHER's Universal Polygraphy," *Isis*, 39, 215-228, 1948. A valuable article, but erroneously reports the date of birth: 1601, instead of 1602.

(6) A. KIRCHER is credited generally as the first modern Egyptologist, though prior to him J. P. VALERIANUS, (1477-1560) wrote *Hieroglyphica, seu de sacris Aegyptiorum aliarumque gentium literis commentarii, libris quinquaginta octo digesti*;

missionary discoveries in the Far East. It was perhaps this tendency which was chiefly responsible for his writing of *China illustrata*. Moreover a new age of Western penetration into China, and the beginnings of a cultural exchange between Europe and the Far East made it impossible to by pass the current of these cultural developements. In the spirit of the time, he undertook a comprehensive work covering this question, relying for the most part on material collected by others. But the book has a specific value and played a significant role as a source of information on the Far East and China during the second half of XVIIIth century, and even later.

*China illustrata* was first published in Latin in Amsterdam, 1667, by JACOBUS VAN MEURS, and also by JOHANNES JANSSONIUS VAN WAESBERGE (7). The two editions are almost identical with the same pagination, illustrations, and contents. JANSSONIUS also issued a Dutch translation in 1668 by J. H. GLAZEMAKER (8). A French translation by F. S. DALQUIÉ (or d'ALQUIÉ) appeared in 1670 (9), and a partial English translation with illustrations was made by JOHN OGILBY and published in 1669, and 1673.

Of these editions, which are not of a uniform character and contents, we accept the Latin edition of JACOBUS A MEURS, Amsterdam, 1667, as the *editio princeps* for the references in this paper. The impression of J. A MEURS seems to be the prototype of the printed later in the same year by JOANNES JANSSONIUS.

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*quibus additi sunt duo hieroglyphicorum libri C. A. Curionis...* Lugduni, 1621-1626; first edition appeared in 1556 in Basilea. The best edition of it is that prepared by A. KIRCHER and published in Francofurt, 1678.

(7) Cf. H. CORDIER, *Bibliotheca Sinica*, vol. I, cols. 26-27. CORDIER is of the opinion that the edition of JANSSONIUS is "plus belle" than that of MEURS; a question of judgment. There are no graphical difference between these two editions, or any difference in execution of the point. JANSSONIUS, a scion of a prominent family of Netherland printers and publishers, established his printing workshop in Amsterdam, 1651; died 1681. Cf. *Katolieke Encyclopaedie*, vol. XXIII (Amsterdam, 1938), col. 777.

(8) ROBERT CHABRIÉ says that there is a Flemish translation, but my search for the edition was not successful. Cf. R. CHABRIÉ's *op. cit.*, p. 179, note 1.

(9) FRANÇOIS SAVINIEN ALQUIÉ, French man of letters of the second part of XVIIIth century, author of *Les Mémoires du voyage de Ghiron François, marquis de Ville, au Levant, ou l'Histoire du siège de Candie en 1669* (Amsterdam, 1671), *Les délices de la France* (Amsterdam, 1670), and some other works of lesser importance. Cf. *Nouvelle biographie universelle*, vol. II, col. 215. *Biographie universelle* (Michaud), vol. I, pp. 532-533.

It is rarer (10) and according to the inscription on the last page was printed "Juxta exemplar Romae, typis Varesii, Superiorum permissu."

The Dutch translation, which does not differ in text from the Latin edition, is entitled: *Tooneel van China, Door veel, Zo Geestelijke als Werrellijke, Geheugteekenken, Verscheide Vertoningen van de Natuur en Kunst, en Blijken van veel andere Gedenkwaerdige dingen, geopent en verheerlykt. Nieuwelijks door d'E. Vader Athanasius Kircherus, Priester der Societeit Jesu, in 't Latyn beschreven, en van J. H. Glazemaker vertaalt.* L'Amsterdam, By JOHANNES JANSSONIUS VAN WEYERSTRAET. In 't Jaar MDCLXVIII; in folio, pp. 286. Because of the language and the small number of copies, this edition, except for Dutch readers, seems unimportant in the study of the Far East.

Next in importance to the Latin edition, is the French translation of *China illustrata*. It constitutes together with works of JEAN BAPTISTE DU HALDE (11), LOUIS DANIEL LE COMTE (12), ÉTIENNE FOURMONT (13), and subsequent French publications on China,

(10) Not in the British Museum, New York Public Library, nor the Library of Congress. I use copy from my private collection.

(11) DU HALDE, French geographer and sinologue, born at Paris, February 1, 1674; entered Jesuit order, 1692; died at Paris, August 18, 1742. He succeeded (1708) CHARLES LE GOBIEN as an editor of *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*. His fame rests on *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise...* Paris, 1735 (4 vols), et seq. d'Anville supplemented this edition with his *Nouvel Atlas de la Chine...* La Haye, 1737. Cf. H. CORDIER, *Bibliotheca Sinica*, vol. I, cols. 45-52; *Nouvelle biographie générale*, vol. XV (Paris, 1856, ed. Firmin Didot), cols. 98-99; *Biographie universelle* (nouvelle édition), vol. XI, p. 479; C. SOMMERVOGEL, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, cols. 34-38.

(12) LE COMTE, born in Bordeaux on October 10, 1655, entered the Jesuit order, October 22, 1671, sent to China 1685, as a missionary and teacher of mathematics. He was recalled to Rome to report to the Pope on the question of rite quarrel. There followed many spirited writings by COMTE on the question of Chinese Rites. He was strongly opposed by *Missions Étrangères de Paris*. He is celebrated for his *Nouveaux memoires sur l'état présent de la Chine*, Paris, 1696, with numerous illustrations. This work had seven editions and many foreign translations. C. SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, vol. II, col. 1356-1360. L. PFISTER, *Notices*, vol. I, pp. 440-443; H. CORDIER, *Bibliotheca Sinica*, vol. I, col. 39-43.

(13) ÉTIENNE FOURMONT, one of the most laborious savants and sinologue of France in XVIIIth century, born at Herbelay near St. Denis, 1683; died in December 18, 1745 in Paris. He compiled a chinese dictionary *Linguae Sinarum mandarinicae, hieroglyphicae, grammaticae duplex, latine et cum characteribus Sinensium...* Paris, 1742. His outstanding work is *Meditationes Sinicae, in quibus consideratur linguae philosophicae atque, universalis natura...* Paris, 1737. For his life see *Vie de*

the basis of the early French sinology and sinophilism which played such a significant role in the XVIIIth century culture of Europe. This translation also helps us to elucidate the question of the first Chinese vocabulary published in the Western World. Its title-page is as follows :

*La Chine D'Athanase Kirchere De la Compagnie de Jesus, Illustrée De plusieurs Monuments Tant Sacrés que Profanes, Et de quantité de Recherchés De la Nature & de l'Art. A Quoy on à adjousté de nouveau les questions curieuses que le Serenissime Grand Duc de Toscane a fait depuis peu au P. Jean Grubere touchant ce grand Empire. Avec un Dictionnaire Chinois & Français, lequel est tres-rare, & qui n'a pas encores paru au jour.* Traduit par F. S. DALGUIÉ. A Amsterdam, Ches JEAN JANSSON À WAESBERGE, & les Heritiers d'Elizée Weyerstraet, l'An MDCLXX. Avec Privilege (14).

It is dedicated : " A Monseigneur Le Marquis de Louvois et de Cortanauau, Secretaire d'Estat et des Commandemens de sa Majesté, Grand Maistre et Surintendant General des Postes et Relais de France " (f. 3v-4v).

In addition to its exact translation from Latin edition it has :

1) *Questions curieuses touchant la Chine : La Briefve et exacte Response Du P. Jean Grubere de la Societé de Jesus. A toutes les Questions Que luy a fait le Serenissime Grand Duc de Toscane* (pp. 316-323; altogether ten questions).

2) *Dictionnaire Chinois et Français* (pp. 324-367; two columns on the page) (15).

For the student of the history of geography and civilization

*M. Fourmont*, by J. DE GUIGNES and A. A. ROUX DESHAUTESRAYES, at the end of posthumous edition of FOURMONT's *Reflexions sur l'origine des anciens peuples* (Paris, 1747, 2 vols.) Cf. *Biographie universelle et moderne*, nouvelle édition, vol. XIV, pp. 546-548; H. CORDIER, *Bibliotheca Sinica*, vol. III, cols. 1658-1660.

(14) In folio, 37 cm. × 24 cm., 2 plts., 7 ff., 367 pp., 6 ff. (index, last f. v. blank). Before the title page there are two prints : a portrait of ATHANASIUS KIRCHER, and an allegoric vignette relating to Jesuit missions in China. In the text are illustrations, inserted prints, plate of Hsi-an-fu Inscription (65 cm. × 42 cm.), 2 maps of China. Some of the illustrations are inverted as in the Latin edition. In the end index. Page 260 misnumbered as 460. This description is of the copy in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, which bears the following autograph : " Presented by Sir George Staunton Bart., February 7, 1824."

(15) It is this dictionary of MICHAEL BOYM which was published in its traditional form only in French edition of *China illustrata*, *vide supra*.

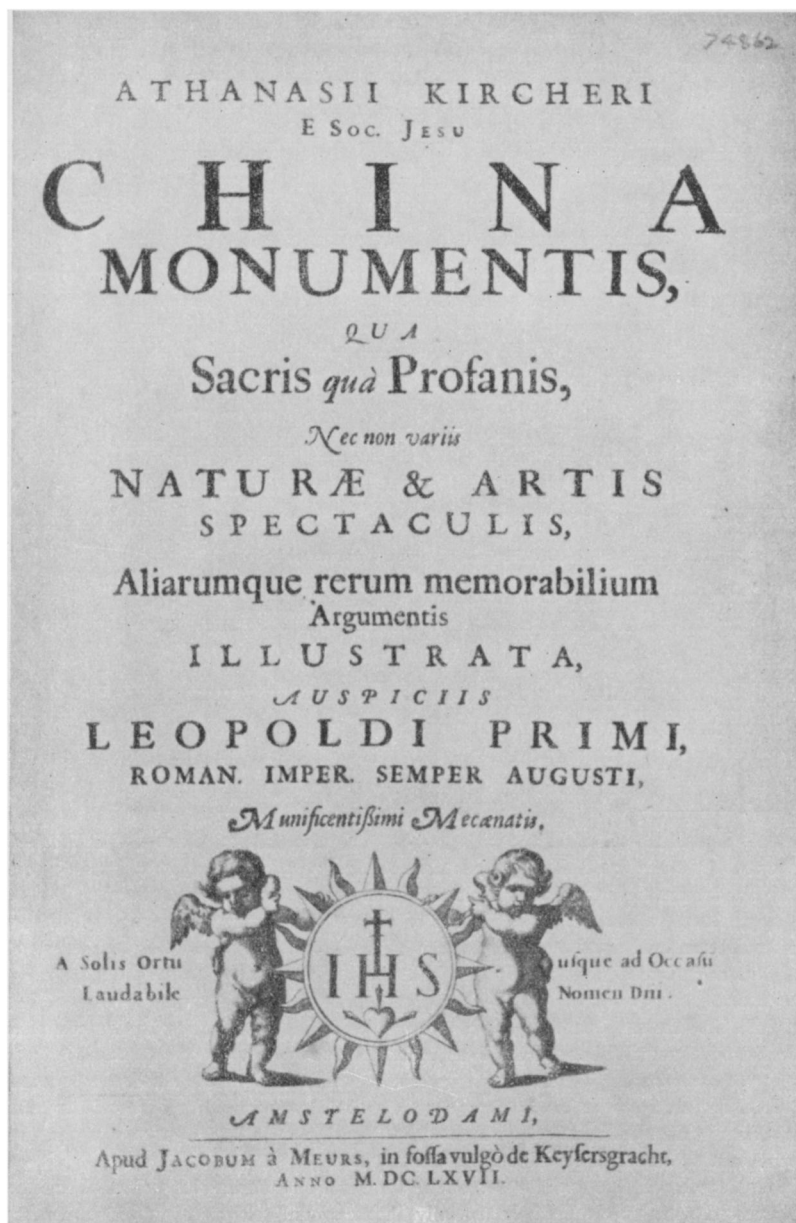


FIG. 2. Title page of ATHANASIUS KIRCHER's *China illustrata*, edition of JACOBUS à MEURS, Amsterdam, 1667, the book which aroused great interest in Chinese studies in XVIIIth century.

the book of ATHANASIUS KIRCHER (16), is of particular interest. It presents an intelligent compilation of material gathered by western missionaries in the Far East, and brought to Europe in the middle of seventeenth century. It is also a collection of previously unpublished relations, and very rare, writings on oriental countries, their geography, botany, zoology, languages, religion, and antiquities, as well as an historical sketch of the Eastern mission. The work includes historical and religious matter which provides a back ground to the essentially scientific and empirical character of the work. It represents not only KIRCHER's own religious philosophy (17) but that also of the whole Western missionary venture in the Far Orient. As a result of including this material, *China illustrata* (18) is an important source of informations on the beginnings of western sinology and sinophilism in Europe. Its rarity, even in the larger libraries, is reflected to some extent, in the opinion of the present writer, the shortcomings of certain papers dealing with the history of the penetration of a knowledge of the Orient into the Western World as well with the interest in Chinese studies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (19).

The compilatory character of KIRCHER's work caused a kind of confusion in the recognition of the contributors to *China illustrata* and consequently in the early knowledge of the Far

(16) See illustration of the title page. Cf. also HENRI CORDIER, *Bibliotheca Sinica. Dictionnaire bibliographique des ouvrages relatifs à l'empire chinois* (5 vols, Paris, Librairie Orientale et Américaine, 1904-1924), vol. I, cols. 26-29.

(17) KIRCHER was the first scientist of the XVIIIth century to envisage the theory of evolution and tried to harmonise it with Revelation. Cf. JOSEPH GUTMANN, *Athanasius Kircher (1602-1680) und das Schoepfungs- und Entwicklungsproblem*. Wurzburg, 1938.

(18) Cf. HENRY CORDIER, "Notes pour servir à l'histoire des études chinoises en Europe, jusqu'à l'époque de Fourmont." *Nouveau mélanges orientaux. Mémoires, textes et traductions publiés par les professeurs de l'École Spéciale des Langues Orientales Vivantes à l'occasion du Septième Congrès International des Orientalistes réuni à Vienne (Septembre, 1886)*. (Paris, 1886), pp. 399-429. CORDIER was the first who in a short remark evaluated *China illustrata*.

(19) Professor GEORGE SARTON, one of the most outstanding historians of science, remarked that "Science is essentially international, or perhaps we should say supernatural. Men of science of all times and places cooperate together..." Western and eastern influences are complementary, and one cannot neglect the one or the other without loss of perspective; see his essays in the history of civilization *The Life of Science* (New York, Henry Schuman), pp. 26, 171.



East. Owing to this confusion, the content of the book has been quoted and referred to as KIRCHER's own work. The popularity of the scientific writings of this great polyhistor also favored his acceptance as the only author, thus obscuring those who should be acknowledged as writers of merit both in the history of civilization and in the history of Western-Far Eastern relations.

As KIRCHER notes in the introduction to *China illustrata*, his aim was to present in one comprehensive volume the knowledge and experience of the missionaries working in the unknown East. He felt that missionaries, occupied with the duties of their vocation, had neither sufficient time nor opportunity to write all the information which they collected on their journeys. He compiled the book in response to the promptings of the missionaries lest their scattered publications or manuscript material "be destroyed by moth and worms" (20).

As is evident from the *Prooemium ad lectorem* (21), he made use of oral information gathered from returning missionaries, as well as their manuscripts and published material. He selected the most prominent of those personally known to him, and, with suitable compliments named them, in the introduction in the following order :

1) MARTINUS MARTINIUS, an Italian, who was his pupil in mathematics at the Roman College, and who, by his great work *Novus atlas Sinensis*, merited the admiration of the master; 2) MICHAEL BOYM, a Pole, Chinese ambassador to Rome and Venice, sent by the last Ming emperor, YUNG LI (1646-1662), and his converted family, to Pope INNOCENT X; 3) PHILIPPUS MARINUS, Italian, procurator of the Japanese province of the Society of Jesus, who gave much information orally on China, Tonkin, and Japan; 4) JOANNES GRUEBER, Austrian, renowned for his over-land travels to China and Tibet, and for his

(20) F. 5v. "Quoniam vero patribus continuo in salute animarum procuranda distentis, neque otium tempusque et media, ad variorum quarundam verum quas in suis per vastissimas illas mundi regiones susceptis itineribus observarunt, notitias tum describendas, tum in lucem edendas suppetat, hoc unum a me contenderunt, ut illa, quae tanto labore et sudore compererant, scriptis commissa blattis et tineis non cederent, sed in unum volumen congesta, in Reipublicae Litterariae bonum publicae luci traderem; quod hoc opere me praestitutum pollicitus sum."

(21) Ff. 4v-5v.

geographical descriptions made at the order of his superiors; 5) HENRICUS ROTH, German, celebrated for his knowledge of the Persian and Indian languages, who together with GRUEBER (22) helped KIRCHER in his writing during his stay in Rome (23). In addition to these contributions, there is a substantial material compiled by KIRCHER's own research, done with the utmost effort to present the previous Western knowledge of the East from the classical period to his own time. Therefore he might well be recognized as an important XVIIth century historian of the relations between the West and Far East.

In the first part, chapter II-VI, of KIRCHER's compilation (pp. 4-45) appears an important document of early Christianity in China, the Nestorian Inscription (A.D. 781) of Si-an-fu: *Monumenti Sinico-Chaldaei ante mille circiter annos ab Evangelicis Christianae Legis propagatoribus in quodam Chinae Regno, quod Xemsi dicitur, erecti, et anno tandem 1625 primum insigni Christianae Legis emolumento detecti*. Apart from historical and documentary value of the Inscription, about which a vast literature (24) has accumulated, KIRCHER's inclusion of the translation of the Syriac and Chinese text is of considerable significance in that the Chinese part is the first published Chinese vocabulary in Western language.

The discovery of a Christian monument in the suburb of Hsi-an-fu, CH'ANG-AN, in 1625 awakened keen interest among the Jesuit missionaries then in China, a swell as among the native

(22) F. 5v. Qui dum haec scribo, mecum continuo morantur,... communicare non cessant.

(23) For the identification of missionaries who worked in China we will refer to the work of LOUIS PFISTER, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine 1552-1773* (2 vols., Chang-Hai, Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1932), series of the *Variétés Sinologiques*, No. 59, 60, PFISTER gives useful source bibliography to each item of his valuable book.

(24) Cf. HENRI CORDIER, *Bibliotheca Sinica*, cols., 772-781; 3562-3568. SAMUEL COULING, *The Encyclopaedia Sinica*, pp. 394-396. ARTHUR C. MOULE, *Christians in China before the year 1500*. London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1930. CLAUDE VISDELOU, *Examen de la question: s'il y a eu des chrétiens à la Chine avant le septième siècle?* Extrait du *Journal des Sçavants* du mois d'Août, 1760. Paris. Also his articles in June, 1760, February, 1761. For the valuable research on the Nestorians in China and bibliography of the subject see P. Y. SAEKI, *The Nestorian Monument in China*, London, 1916; and also *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China*, with maps, illustrations and bibliography, Tokyo, 1937.

Christians (25). ALVAREZ DE SEMEDO (1585-1658) (26), Procurator of the Jesuit province of China and Japan, himself went to CH'ANG-AN in 1628, to examine and study the monument as an outstanding evidence of early Christianity in China. It was also regarded as a proof of Chinese susceptibility to the Christian Truth in spite of the difficult cultural conditions and a stimulus to missionary work.

EMMANUEL DIAZ, (Junior, 1574-1659) (27), in a letter from Macao to Rome dated 21st November 1627, informed Europe of the discovery of the monument and sent a Portuguese version of the Chinese text of the Inscription. This version was translated into Italian and published at Rome in 1631 under the title of *Dichiarazione di una pietra antica*. The Italian translation put into Latin was included in *Prodromus Coptus sive Aegyptiacus* (28), 1636, by ATHANASIUS KIRCHER. About that time a rubbing of the inscription in its natural size was brought to the Jesuit Library in Rome, and was subsequently included in the collection of the Musaeum Kircherianum (29). But it was MICHAEL

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(25) Cf. my article, "The Beginnings of Chinese Lexicography in Europe with Particular Reference to the Work of Michael Boym (1612-1659)", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (July-September 1947), pp. 160-165.

(26) Born in Nizea, Portugal; entered Jesuit order, April 30, 1602; went to India, 1608, and China, 1613; suffered persecutions and worked for the augmentation of Jesuit missionaries in China. He brought to China famous mathematician JOHN NICOLAS SMOGULECKI, a Pole, in 1646. He is celebrated also for his documentary reports from China. Cf. L. PFISTER, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 143-147. C. SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, vol. VII, col. 1112.

(27) Cf. HENRI HAVRET, *La stèle chrétienne de Si-Ngan-Fou* (3 vols, Shanghai, 1895, 1897, 1902, ed. *Variétés Sinologiques*, No. 7, 12, 20), vol. II, 330, L. PFISTER, *Notices*, vol. I, pp. 106-111. EMMANUEL DIAZ, Jr. born in Castelblanco, Portugal, 1574; entered Society of Jesus, 1592; sent to Macao, 1601, and China, 1610; from 1614 he was Visitor for Chinese province near the Provincial of Japan and China; author of Chinese works on Christian subjects and one of outstanding early missionaries in China. See also, ARTHUR W. HUMMEL, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* (Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1943-1944), vol. I, p. 453; vol. II, p. 793.

(28) *Athanasii Kircheri Fuldensis Buchonii e Soc. Jesu Prodromus Coptus sive Aegyptiacus... in quo cum linguae Coptae, sive Aegyptiacae, quondam pharaonicae, origo, aetas, vicissitudo, inclinatio, tum hieroglyphicae literaturae instauratio... exhibentur* (Romae, 1636), pp. 46-86.

(29) Cf. A. KIRCHER, *Romani collegii Societatis Jesu musaeum celeberrimum...* (Amstelodami, 1678), facing p. 13, a copy of BOYM's rubbing made by his Chinese companion, who was left on the way to Rome in 1652. KIRCHER says: "Hanc tabulam propria manu ex autographo descripsit Matthaeus Sina oriundus ex Siganfu Romae anno 1664."

BOYM (30) who first made a complete Latin translation from the Chinese and published it in KIRCHER's *China illustrata* (pp. 7-29), 1667. This translation printed together with the Chinese reproduction, and an ingenious phonetic transliteration of the characters, is of immense value for the study of the beginnings of Chinese lexicography in XVIIIth century Europe (31).

MICHAEL BOYM is known for his wide interest and investigation into sinology. He viewed the translation (32) of the Nestorian Inscription of Hsi-an-fu as lexical material and shaped it into what we might term a vocabulary. In the first part of his work, he gave a short introduction on Chinese characters, their pronunciation and tones. Most interesting is the system he invented for marking the tones of Chinese pronunciation. He adopted a marking of the principal five tones, which in his opinion corresponded to the five musical notes: Ut, Re, Mi, Fa, Sol (33). The second part of M. BOYM's work gives the pronunciation of all the characteres of the Inscription numbered separately in each column. His copy of the Inscription was attached and the characters were numbered correspondingly. In the Latin translation, the words were likewise numbered. In toto, this formed an unusual kind of vocabulary, justified partly by the difficulties of printing Chinese characters at that time in Europe.

However in the 1670 French edition of the *China illustrata*, KIRCHER included BOYM's vocabulary now compiled in conventional form, with only French equivalents, and no characters

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(30) MICHAEL PETRUS BOYM, a prominent Polish sinologue, born, 1612, in Lvov; entered Jesuit order, 1629; sent to China 1643; Chinese ambassador to Rome and Venice, 1652-1656; author of books on Chinese botany, medicine, language; died in China, August 22, 1659. Cf. L. PFISTER, *Notices*, vol. I, pp. 269-276; R. CHABRIÉ, *Michel Boym Jésuite Polonais et la fin des Ming en Chine, 1646-1662* (Paris, Pierre Bossuet, 1933; H. CORDIER, *Bibliotheca Sinica*, vol. I, cols. 442-443; vol. II, cols. 819-820, 1470-1472; vol. V, col. 3644; ARTHUR W. HUMMEL, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912)*, vol. I, p. 195. H. CORDIER, *Histoire générale de la Chine et de ses relations avec les pays étrangers* (4 vols. Paris, 1920, 1921), vol. I, pp. 12-13.

(31) BOLESŁAW SZCZESNIAK, *op. cit.*, p. 163. The author in footnotes give essential bibliography on the subject.

(32) Valuable datas relating to the BOYM's interest in Nestorian Inscription gives ALPHONSE FAVIER, *Peking. Histoire et description* (Peking, Imprimerie des Lazaristes, 1897), pp. 53-62.

(33) *China illustrata*, p. 12; see illustrations relating to the beginnings of Chinese writing, pp. 227-237.

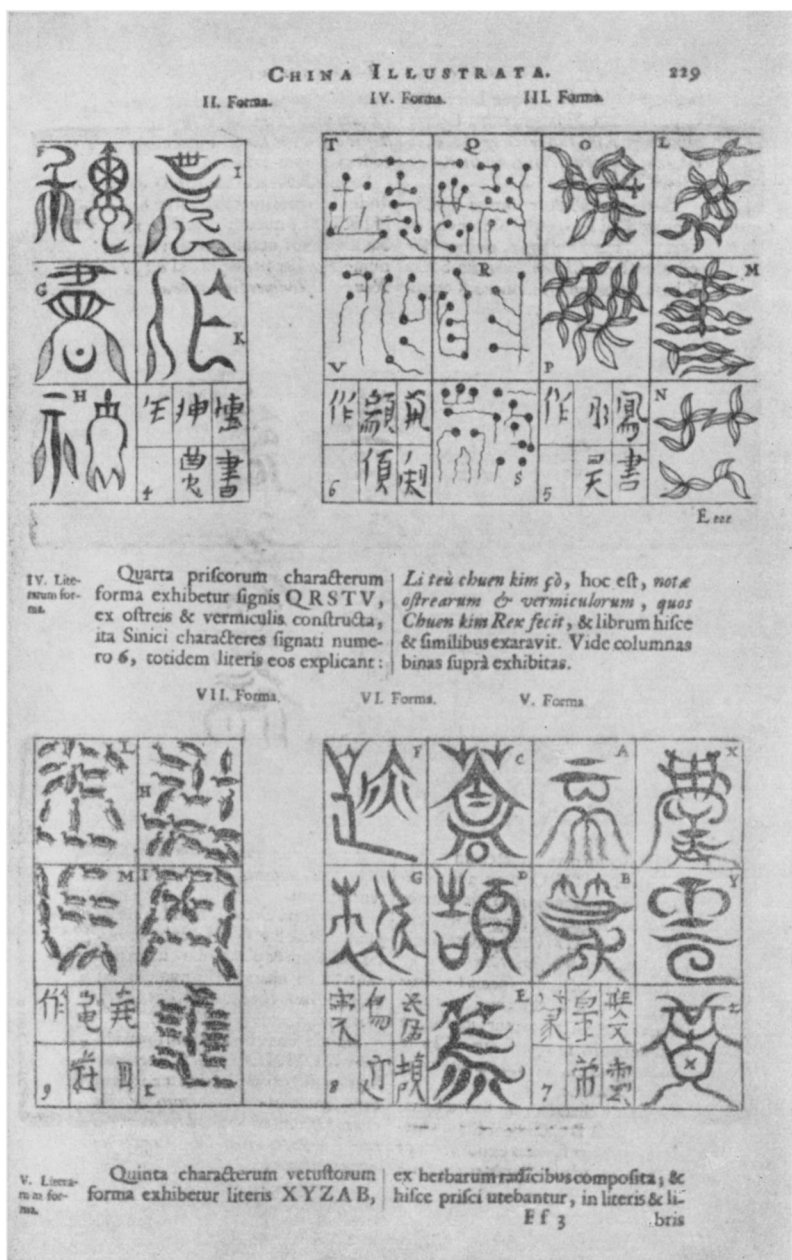


FIG. 3. MICHAEL BOYM's explanation of the beginnings of Chinese ideographs which were taken from the nature as pictures of things and ideas. A. KIRCHER inserted the illustrations in his *China illustrata* (p. 229) to depict the same origin as that of Egypt hieroglyphs and to prove by it also China's origin in Egypt.

(pp. 324-367). It was the first Chinese-French dictionary (34). The transcription in the French version is the same as in the Latin edition. In the romanization there is no difference at all. Thus the Chinese-French dictionary, *Dictionnaire Chinois et Français*, was the outcome of lexical studies on the Christian Inscription (35). Its appearance in this particular form as printed in *China illustrata*, or in *La Chine illustrée*, attracted other scholars in the second part of the seventeenth century, especially CHRISTIAN MENTZEL (1622-1701), and ANDREAS MÜLLER (1630-1694) (36) who plagiarized (37) MICHAEL BOYM's work (38).

Another important contribution of BOYM relating to the study of Chinese lexicography in Europe is contained in the sixth, and the last part of *China illustrata*, where he treats Chinese writing, its origin, "*anatomia*," similarities to the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs, and pronunciation. This part constitutes a fragment of BOYM's manuscript on the Chinese language and literature, the rest of which seems not to have been preserved to our days. KIRCHER entitled it *De Sinensium literatura* (pp. 225-236). He writes that he got his material on the Chinese language from

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(34) Cf. also ROBERT CHABRIÉ, *Michel Boym Jésuite Polonais et la fin des Ming en Chine (1646-1662)*, pp. 226-227. I do not agree with the hasty conclusion of P. PELLIOU in his "Michel Boym" (*T'oung Pao*, XXXI: 95-151, Leide, 1934), pp. 136-137, see my article, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

(35) About BOYM's *Dictionnaire* ETIENNE FOURMONT said: "Linguae mandarinicae adhuc ferme ignotae cognitionem fuerit doctis saltem aliquam impertitus, id enimvero ne quis unquam revocet in dubium," *Meditationes Sinicae...* (Paris, 1737), p. XV.

(36) ABEL REMUSAT, "Plan d'un dictionnaire chinois..." *Mélanges Asiatiques*, (Paris, 1825, 1826, 2 vols.), vol. II, pp. 62-131; "MICHEL BOYM, missionnaire en Chine," *ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 226-228.

(37) CHRISTIAN MENTZEL born in Furstenwalde, June 15, 1622; studied in Frankfurt on Odra and in Königsberg (Krolewicz, Polish East Prussia); botanist and amateur Orientalist. He was attached to the Library of Berlin established by KURFÜRST FRIEDRICH WILHELM as an resident in 1658. He plagiarized BOYM's dictionary in publishing *Sylloge minutiarum lexici latino-sinico-characteristici... Norimbergae*, 1685. MENTZEL died in Berlin, January 27, 1701. Cf. also *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, vol. XXI (1885), p. 374. ANDREAS MILLER (GREIFENHAGIUS), born in 1630, Grefenhagen on Odra, died, October 26, 1694 in Szczecin (Stetin). He was a Protestant pastor in Polish Pomerania, and amateur Orientalist. He plagiarized BOYM's translation of Nestorian Inscription in his work *Monumenti Sinici...* Berolini, 1672. See also *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, vol. XXII (1885), pp. 512-514.

(38) For details see my article, *op. cit.*

BOYM on his return to Europe (1652-1656) (39). This treatise is illustrated with interesting cuttings taken from Chinese sources. KIRCHER considered the contribution of BOYM a further evidence of his own theory of the unity of culture and the origin of Chinese civilization from Egyptian importations in prehistoric times. In his *Oedipus Aegyptiacus*, published Rome, 1652-1654, as in *China illustrata*, he notes many similarities between the two countries with the intention of proving the Egyptian beginnings of China.

Quite a substantial part of *China illustrata* is taken from the report made by JOHN GRUEBER (40) and HENRY ROTH (41), after their return to Rome in 1664 from the Far East by the continental route. These men are renowned in the history of geographical discoveries. GRUEBER went from Rome to China in 1656 with BERNARD DIESTEL (42). They travelled through Anatolia, then through Persia to Ormuz, thence by sea to Macao and Peking,

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(39) Cf. *China illustrata*, p. 225: "Et prima characterum forma habetur in libro de formandarum literarum ratione, quem dum hoc scribo, mihi communicavit negotiorum causa ex Sinarum regione Romam profectus R. P. Michael Boym Polonus e Soc. Jesu, tum linguae Sinicae, tum verum omnium ad dicti regni mores et consuetudines pertinentium peritissimus..." PELLIOT, with some animosity, challenges R. CHABRIÉ's statements on the existence of the Chinese vocabulary of M. BOYM. This opinion is contradicted by the evidence in *China illustrata*. Cf. P. PELLIOT, "Michel Boym," pp. 134-135, R. CHABRIÉ, *Michel Boym*, pp. 219-227.

(40) JOHANN GRUEBER prominent traveller and mathematician, born in Lintz, Austria, October 28, 1623, joined the Society of Jesus 1641. In 1656 sent to China. Arrived Macao and Peking in 1658, where he remained two years. In 1664 returned to Rome with the report of the newly discovered land route from North China. On being sent again to China, he fell sick on route; returned from Constantinople to Florence and afterwards to Sarospatak in Hungary where he died, September 30, 1680. Cf. L. PFISTER, *Notices*, vol. I, pp. 319-321; C. SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, vol. III, cols. 1884-1885; *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. VII (1913), pp. 41-42.

(41) HEINRICH ROTH, German, born in Augsburg, December 18, 1620, as a Jesuit missionary worked in Agra (Akbarabad). His knowledge of Sanscrit, Hindu and Persian was admired by A. KIRCHER. After his stay in Rome with J. GRUEBER, he returned to India where he died in 1668 in Agra. Cf. *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, vol. XXIX (Leipzig, 1889), p. 309; C. SOMMERVOGEL, vol. VII (1896), cols. 210-211; JOSEPH STOCKLEIN, *Der Neue-Weltbott mit allerhand Nachrichten dern Missionariorum Soc. Jesu...* (Erben, 1728-1761), vol. I (1728), pp. 113-115; L. PFISTER, vol. I, pp. 315, 320.

(42) BERNARD DIESTEL, S. J., was sent to China with the letter of Emperor LEOPOLD I to SHUN CHIH, the first emperor of the new Manchu dynasty in China. He was called to the Court College of Mathematicians. Died in Ch'i-an, Sept. 13, 1660. Cf. L. PFISTER, vol. I, pp. 313-314. C. SOMMERVOGEL, vol. III, col. 57.

reaching the imperial capital at the end of 1658. GRUEBER was appointed professor of mathematics and assistant to ADAM SCHALL VON BELL (43) on the Board of Astronomy at the imperial court. In 1661, GOSWIN NICKEL (44), General of the Jesuits, directed him to travel via land, to open a new route, which could be used in case of difficulties with the Portugese who monopolized the sea traffic to China. It was also desirable to find a shorter way for quick communication between Rome and the Chinese missions. GRUEBER with ALBERT D'ORVILLE (45) started his long journey of 214 days in June (46), 1661, via North China, and followed the highroad to Lhasa, the capital of Tibet. They crossed Kansu, the most north-western province of China, through Mongol country known to JOHN DE PLANO CARPINI and RUBRUCK as Caracathay. After three months of difficult travel they reached the capital city of mysterious, theocratic Tibet, Lhasa, known to them under the name of Baranthola (47). Here after studying the country's

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(43) JOHN ADAM SCHALL VON BELL, often written SCHAAL, a German, was born at Cologne in 1591 and came to China with N. TRIGAULT in 1622. He is celebrated for his work at the imperial court, Board of Astronomy, where he worked with JACQUES RHO. For his excellent knowledge of Western Astronomy and corrections of Chinese callendar, he was appointed Director of the Imperial Board of Astronomy in Pekin and titled with a rank of Mandarin. He died at Pekin in 1666. He is author of many Chinese works on European astronomy. Cf. L. PFISTER, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 162-182; H. HAVRET, *La stèle chrétienne*, vol. II, p. 96.

(44) GOSWIN NICKEL, born in Goslar, Germany, May 1, 1584; entered Jesuit order April 3, 1604, taught philosophy at Cologne; General of Jesuits, March 17, 1652; died Rome, July 31, 1664. Distinguished for the great piety, he reintroduce the virtue of poverty. His severity of life made him sometimes difficult, as is evidenced in the mission of MICHAEL BOYM to Venice and Rome in 1652. Cf. C. SOMMERVOGEL, *op. cit.*, vol. V, cols., 1706-1707. R. CHABRIÉ, *Michel Boym Jésuite Polonais et la fin des Ming en Chine (1636-1662)* (Paris, Pierre Bossuet, 1933), pp. 131-135. CHABRIÉ entitled this chapter "Sévérité du général des Jésuites."

(45) ALBERT D'ORVILLE, third son of LOUIS LE COMTE, seigneur d'ORVILLE, born in Bruxelles August 20, 1622, entered Jesuit Order November 2, 1646, arrived in China 1659 where he worked with JOHN ADAM SCHALL VON BELL, Director of the Board of Astronomy or Mathematics. He accompanied GRUEBER from Pekin to Agra, where exhausted by travel died April 8, 1662. Cf. PFISTER, vol. I, pp. 314-315; C. WESSEL, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia, 1603-1721* (The Hague, 1924), p. 178, f.; *China illustrata*, f. 5v, p. 64.

(46) KIRCHER says (p. 64) that in June, "Ex Pequino itaque hi patres anno 1661, mense Junio..."; C. WESSEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 198, 203, gives April 13, 1661.

(47) The first Western picture of the grand monastery of Potala of Lhasa was inserted by KIRCHER, p. 74, with inscription: Arcis Bietala in qua habitat



geography, customs, language and religion for two months, the missionaries proceeded to India crossing the Himalayas, Nepal, and the Ganges plateau to Patna, and Agra, where, exhausted by his arduous travel, D'ORVILLE died April 8, 1662. GRUEBER and his companion were the first modern land travellers from China through Tibet to India who have left a valuable description. This KIRCHER included in his work (pp. 64-85) (48) together with their relation of the journey from Agra to Smyrna (pp. 85-86). To this relation he added a short letter of AMATUS CHEZAUD (49), a French Jesuit, with information for reaching China by the easy and free way through Uzbekistan and Turkestan (pp. 86-87). They had been preceded in 1624 by ANTONIO ANDRADE (50), a Portuguese, whose description, however, may hardly be considered of high geographical value. ANDRADE was primarily interested, in his report to the General of the order,

Magnus Lama. They say : " Arcis quoque, quam Bietala vocant, ad finem urbis Barantolae, in quo Magnus Lama residet..."

(48) Cf. p. 66 : " Atque haec oretenus a supra memoratis patribus accepi, qui illud, ut descripsimus, iter confecerunt."

(49) AIMÉ CHEZAUD born at Lyons, 1604, entered Jesuit order, 1627; went to Syria, 1639, and Persia, 1652, where he died in September 14, 1652. He was friend of ALEXANDER RHODES founder of Ispahan mission. KIRCHER very highly esteemed CHEZAUD for his knowledge of Persia, he included his another letter from Ispahan in *Oedipus Aegyptiacus*, vol. II, pp. 118-119. Cf. C. SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, vol. II, col. 1118.

(50) ANTONIO ANDRADE, was born in 1580, Oleiros near Alentejo, Portugal; entered Jesuit order, December 16, 1596; sent to East Indies circa 1600; in 1624 was in Tibet; died March 19, 1634, in Agra. He started his journey to Tibet on 30-th March, 1624 together with Brother MANUEL MARQUES. Cf. C. WESSEL, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia* (The Hague, 1924), pp. 43-68; C. SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Bruxelles-Paris, 1890-1900), vol. I, 329-331, vol. VIII, 1639, *Appendix*, p. VI; HENRI CORDIER, *Bibliotheca Sinica*, cols. 2898-2901. For the valuable paper on the Jesuit Mission in Tibet, 1625-1671, see C. WESSEL's edition of travels of IPPOLITO DESIDERI, *An Account of Tibet*, (London, George Rouledge, 1937), pp. 3-32. The first edition of the description of Tibet by Andrade was published in 1626, *Novo Descobrimento do gram Cathayo, ou Reinos de Tibet, pello Padre Antonio de Andrade da Companhia de Jesu, Portuguez, no Anno de 1624. Com todas as licenças necessarias*. Em Lisboa, por Matheus Pinheiro. Anno de 1626. Cf. H. CORDIER, *Bibliotheca Sinica*, vol. IV, cols. 2898-2904. Not listed by CORDIER; *Lettere annue d'Etiopia, Malabar, Brasil, e Goa dall'anno 1620 fin'al 1624*. Romae, Francesco Corbelletti; 1627 (8-vo, 343 pp.), see catalogue No. 15 (1950) of WILLIAM H. SCHAB of New York. *Nova descobrimento* had many editions in different languages, and some variations of the text.

MUTIUS VITELESCHI (51), in the possibility of establishing missions in Tibet. He went from Agra, India, to the sources of the Ganges, through Western Tibet along the northern base of Kunlun to Kokonor, or the Mongolian country of Tungut located in the north-east of Tibet, and finally reached China.

These journeys and travels, as well as that of XIIIth century KIRCHER illustrated in the attached map (facing p. 46) entitled *Tabula geodoborica itinerum a variis in Cataium susceptiorum rationem exhibens*. In this map he traced the routes of GIOVANNI DE PLANO CARPINI and BENEDICT THE POLE, MARCO POLO, ST. THOMAS APOSTOL, BENEDICT GOES, FRANCIS D'ORVILLE and HENRY GRUEBER.

The same route was travelled by the outstanding explorer NICOLAS PRZEWALSKI (52) in 1870-1871, and 1879. Among the Western travellers to follow the second visit to Lhasa, of IPOLITO DESIDERI OF PISTOIA (1712-1727) (53), was the great American orientalist WILLIAM WOODWILL ROCKHILL who left a valuable geographic description of his second journey *Diary of a Journey through Mongolia, and Tibet in 1891 and 1892* (54).

The very first visitor of the Western World in Tibet, however, was a Franciscan traveller and missionary (55), Blessed ODORIC

(51) MUTIUS VITELESCHI born Rome, December 2, 1563, entered Jesuit order August 15, 1583; he was provincial of Naples and Rome; general, November 15, 1615; died February 9, 1645. His government of the order is signified by the rise and development of Jesuit missions in China. Cf. C. SOMMERVOGEL, *op. cit.*, vol. VIII, cols. 848-852. *Enciclopedia Italiana*, vol. XXXV, p. 486, with substantial bibliography.

(52) Cf. His work in English *Mongolia the Tangut Country and the Solitudes of Northern Tibet being & Narrative of Three Years' Travel in Eastern High Asia*. Ed. by H. YULE, London, Sampson Low, 1876, 2 vols. According to its spelling, this Polish family name should be PRZEWALSKI. This great explorer of Mongolia erroneously is reputed as Russian. Cf. *Mikolaj Przewalski. A biography* published by the state publishing office Książka, Warsaw, 1946.

(53) Cf. *An Account of Tibet. The Travels of Ippolito Desideri of Pistoia*, S. J., 1712-1727. Edited by FILIPPO DE FILIPPI, with an Introduction by C. WESSELS, S. J. Rev. ed. London, George Routledge et Sons, Ltd., 1937. First publ., 1931. An excellent introduction of FR. WESSELS gives valuable outline of Jesuit missions in Tibet.

(54) Published by the Smithsonian Institution, Washington 1894. See his introductory notice pp. ix-xx on journeys to Tibet. Also cf. SAMUEL COULING, *The Encyclopaedia Sinica* (Shanghai, Kelly and Walsh, Ltd., 1917), p. 489.

(55) Cf. G. PULLÉ, *Viaggio del Beato Odorico da Pordenone*. Milano, 1931. ODORICUS DE PORDENONE, *beatus* (c. 1265-1331) O. F. M., born in Villa Nuova near Pordenone in Friuli, a Franciscan traveller and missionary who went over

DE PORDENONE (1265-1331) who went to China via Persia, and India. From, Pekin he travelled to Tibet around 1325 (56). The charming narrative and beauty of life of this worthy Franciscan, imbued with the passion of travelling, no doubt inspired early travellers to visit Lhasa and the country of the Lhamas.



A. KIRCHER proved to have a substantial knowledge of the history of Western-Chinese relations. He dwells on that subject extensively (pp. 87-176) giving the history of the ancient notices. Greek and Roman, on the Far East, mostly India. He correlated MARCO POLO's description of China and India which subsequent medieval travellers' relations throughout the sixteenth century. The Jesuit polyhistor was well versed in the subject and occasionally refers to GIOVANNI BATTISTA RAMUSIO (1485-1557), an outstanding modern collector of travel-narratives, and his work *Delle navigationi et viaggi raccolte da M. Gio. Battista Ramusio* (57), published in Venice, 1556. Following this source KIRCHER took material from other sources and mentioned descriptions of the

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land to the Far East. The route to the East was through Trebizond and Erzerum to Tabriz, then to Persepolis, Shiraz, Baghdad to the Persian Gulf. Thence he undertook extensive travels in India, Sumatra, Java and South China. He remained at Pekin for three years, probably attached to the venerable Archbishop JOHN OF MONTECORVINO. He returned via the northern Chinese route and entered Tibet where he perhaps visited Lhasa. Then via Persia and Asia Minor he returned to Italy. ODORIC died in Udine in January, 1331. ODORIC's narrative is the first relation on Tibet in the Western World. He is the most beautiful type of medieval traveller and tolerant missionary in Asia. Cf. article by G. PULLÉ, *Enciclopedia Italiana*, vol. XXV (1935), p. 184. An article in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. XVI (1936), p. 708, gives date of Birth of ODORIC, 1286. See also H. CORDIER, *Les voyages en Asie au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle du bienheureux frère Odoric de Pordenone* (Paris, 1891); H. YULE, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, vol. I; L. WADDING, *Annales Minorum* (Quaracchi, 1931), vol. VII (1932), pp. 144-148; S. COULING, *op. cit.*, p. 403.

(56) Cf. *Western Missions to the Orient during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, by MARSHALL W. BALDWIN, which is to appear in the forthcoming *History of the Crusades*, ed. John L. La Monte and others (Univ. of Pennsylvania Press).

(57) This is the first edition in 3 vols. The complete edition of RAMUSIO travels was published in Venice, 1563-1564, and reprinted in 1606. Cf. H. CORDIER, *Bibliotheca Sinica*, vol. III, col. 1939.

Orient left by BENJAMIN OF TUDELA (58), LUDOVICUS VARTHEMA (or BARTHEMA) (59), LUDOLPHUS DE SUCHEM (60). At the same time he used published, or manuscript material of early modern world historians, like the Frenchman FRANCISCUS BELLEFORESTUS (61). It would be beyond the scope of this paper to evaluate A. KIRCHER as a research worker from his concise presentation of Western knowledge of the Far East. In his book he gives the reader substantial historical information. He also includes

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(58) BENJAMIN OF TUDELA, a Navarrese Jew, traveller from Spain to Baghdad (1159-1173), is famous for his *Records*. His geographical contribution is one of the early Hebrew writings on Asia Minor, translated into Latin by Aria Montanus in 1575. The itinerary led through the Mediterranean countries to the confines of Persia. He is supposed to be the first Western traveller who used the name *Cina* for the Far East in his second-hand stories on China and India. There is extensive literature on RABBI BENJAMIN OF TUDELA. Consult bibliography given by *Enciclopedia Italiana*, vol. VI, pp. 641-642. See also C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY, *The Dawn of Modern Geography* (3 vols, London-Oxford, 1897, 1901, 1906), vol. II, pp. 218-264.

(59) LUDOVICO DE VARTHEMA (vel BARTHEMA) born in Bologna ca 1470; died in Rome, 1517. A very famous Italian traveller in the Near East, India, Java, Borneo, in 1502-1508. His travels were published in Rome 1510, *Itinerario di Ludovico de Varthema Bolognese nello Egipto, nella Surria, nella Arabia deserta et felice, nella Persia, nella India, et nella Ethiopia. La fede, et vivere, et costumi de tutte le prefate Provincie*. This work was many times republished and translated into various languages. For informations see the English edition *The Itinerary of Ludovico di Vathema of Bologna from 1502-1508*, as translated... by JOHN WINTER JONES... *With a Discourse on Varthema and his travels in South Asia*, by Sir RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE (London, Argonaut Press, 1928). See also *Enciclopedia Italiana*, vol. XXXIV, p. 1021.

(60) By LUDOVICUS SACHINUS, most probably KIRCHER meant LUDOLPHUS DE SUCHEM (pl. 1330-1350), or SUDHEIM, a German pilgrim-traveller, Rector of the parish church of Suchem, East Westphalia, who travelled to the Holy Land, Syria and Egypt (1336-1341). He gives informations on the Near East, and even India and China. He gave comparisons between Oriental and European cultural phenomena and most probably interested KIRCHER because of his theory of the prehistoric unity of civilization. Cf. C. R. BEAZLEY, *Down of Modern Geography*, vol. III, pp. 398-402. For the edition of SUCHEM's *De Itinere Terrae Sanctae liber* see *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, II, 305-77 (Paris, 1884), ed. W. Neumann.

(61) *Nouvelle biographie universelle*, vol. V (Paris, 1853), cols. 236-237; *Enciclopedia universal illustrada Europeo Americana*, vol. VII, p. 1566. FRANÇOIS DE BELLEFOREST, born in Sarzan, November, 1530; French historian and writer contemporary to RONSARD. He enjoyed the protection of Queen MARGARITE OF NAVARRE, and is famous for his various writings of a polyhistoric character. See *British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books*, vol. XIII (London, 1936), cols. 235-239. A. KIRCHER quotes his *L'histoire universelle du monde, contenant l'entière description et situation des quatre parties de la terre* (Partly translated from the *Omnium gentium mores* (Vienna, 1520) of JOANNES BOEMUS, Paris, 1570.

some source material from Jesuit writers. like LUDOVICUS GUZMAN (pp. 139-144) (62), LUDOVICUS FROES (pp. 141-142) (63), JOANNES LOPEZ (p. 147) (64), ANTONIUS CESCHIUS (p. 163) (65), PETRUS MAFFEO (p. 148) (66), ROBERTUS NOBILIS (p. 152) (67). To these

(62) LOUIS DE GUZMAN, born in Osomo in 1544, entered the Jesuit order, 1563; held various offices in the Spanish province, and died, in Madrid, January 10, 1605. Cf. C. SOMMERVOGEL, *op. cit.*, vol. III, col. 1979. H. CORDIER, *Bibliotheca Japonica*, cols. 219, 240-241, 260-261. He is famous for *Historia de las misiones que han hecho los religiosos de la Compañia de Jesus, para predicar el santo Evangelio en la India Oriental, y en los Reynos de la China y Japon. Escrita por el padre Luis de Guzman, Religioso de la misma Compania...* en Alcala, 1601, 2 prts.

(63) Cf. C. SOMMERVOGEL, vol. III, cols. 1029-1038. *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada*, vol. XXIV, p. 135. LUIS FROES, (vel FROIS) a Portuguese, born in Beja 1528, entered Jesuit order, 1547; followed BARZÉE to India in 1547, arrived at Japan in 1563; died in Nagasaki, July 8, 1597. He is an author of numerous letters, a wealth of information on the early missions in Japan, which constitute important literature on the establishments and conditions of xvth century Western Japanese relations. KIRCHER apparently was well versed in the writings of L. FROES.

(64) C. SOMMERVOGEL, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, col. 1949. H. CORDIER, *Bibliotheca Japonica*, cols. 323-324, JUAN LOPEZ, born in Moratella, December 27, 1584, entered Jesuit order, October 11, 1600; went to Philippine Islands as a missionary and died in Manila, September 3, 1659 as General Procurator. His work *Relacion de los martyres del Japon del ano de 1627* including *Relacion sumaria del estado de las cosas de Japon en los anos de 1628, 29 y 30, Mexico, 1631.*

*Relacion de los Martyres del Japon del Año de 1627. Por el Padre Pedro Moreion rector del Collegio de la Compagnia de Jesus de Macan. Hazela imprimir el Padre Juan Lopez Procurador general de la misma Compania de la Provincia de Philipinas y dedicala al general D. Juan de Arcarasso Governador de las fuerças de Isla hermosa frontera de la gran China, y de los Reynos del Japon por su Magestat, etc. Ano 1631. En Mexico.* That work in ff. 52-56 included also *Relacion Sumaria del estado de las cosas de Japon en los anos de 1628, 29 y 30.*

(65) Cf. SOMMERVOGEL, *op. cit.*, vol. IX, cols. 23-24. ANTONIO CESCHI DI SANTA CROCE, born in Borgo, February 9, 1618; entered Jesuit order, Rome, 1633; went to missionary work in India, November 1, 1643, was in Goa in 1645; died at Agra, June 28, 1656. His letters were published 1683, after the death of A. KIRCHER. KIRCHER studied CRESCHI's writings in the Jesuits Archives in Rome.

(66) Cf. SOMMERVOGEL, *op. cit.*, vol. V, col. 293-302; vol. IX, cols. 627-628. H. CORDIER, *Bibliotheca Japonica*, cols. 58-67, 142, 172. GIOVANNI PIETRO MAFFEI, born in Bergame 1533; entered Jesuit order, August 26, 1565, died in Tivoli, October 20, 1603. His *Historiarum Indicarum libri XVI*, first published Florence, 1588, and many times republished, gave him greater fame than his professorship of eloquence in Collegio Romano. *Joannis Petri Maffei Bergomatis e Societate Jesu historiarum Indicarum libri XVI selectarum item ex India epistolarum eodem interprete libri IV...* Florentiae, 1588.

(67) Cf. E. SOMMERVOGEL, *op. cit.*, vol. V, cols. 1779-1781; vol. IX, col. 722. ROBERT DE NOBILI, born in Rome, 1577; entered Jesuit Order, June 15, 1596; went to India, 1604, and arrived to Madure, 1606, where he stayed forty two

he adds parts of the relations of H. ROTH (pp. 156-163) on the teaching of the Brahmans and on Sanscrit; also lengthy excerpts (pp. 164-176) from *Novus atlas Sinensis* by MARTINUS MARTINI (68), Amsterdam, 1655. As we previously mentioned part of the *China illustrata* (pp. 176-204) contains material borrowed from M. BOYM's *Flora Sinensis*. To this KIRCHER supplemented much from MARTINI's *Atlas*. Finally he included (pp. 205-224) from MARTINI data on stones, minerals, architecture, the Great Wall (the picture of it, p. 171), canals, temples in Pekin, formulas for lacca manufacture. The latter are most interesting from the point of view of KIRCHER's study of Chinese "inventiones." That part of the book is a peculiar contribution to Western knowledge of Chinese science. But outside of these all inclusions and the character of the book, the prevailing idea was to present Far East in its ancient understanding of that unknown Cathay,—that Cathay which became the field of missionary work for Catholicism. Therefore the conversion of the family, of the last Ming pretendent, YUNG LI, is emphasized by the inclusion of letters sent by empress HELENA to the Pope, and the answer of ALEXANDER VII (pp. 100-105) to her and to the great eunuch PAN ACHILLES.



KIRCHER's book influenced English interest in Sinological studies and the rise of English publications on Far Eastern travels and geographical discoveries. The trade of the Dutch East India Company awakened the competitive spirit of London merchants

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years; died in Maliapur, January 16, 1656; author of writings on India, of which *Relation des erreurs qui se trouvent dans la religion des gentils Malabars...*, KIRCHER named it *De Brachmanum Theologia*.

(68) Born in Trente in 1614; studied mathematics under KIRCHER in Collegio Romano; went to India, 1640; arrived in China, 1643; he travelled much in China during troublesome days; went to Rome, 1654, to justify Jesuits against the Dominicans in the matter of Chinese Rites. He died in Hanchow, June 6, 1661. His glory rests on the *Atlas Sinensis*, and the description of the invasion of Manchu into China, *De bello Tartarico*, Antverpiae, 1654. He is an author and translator of books into Chinese. Cf. L. PFISTER, *Notices*, vol. I, pp. 256-262; S. COULING, *op. cit.*, p. 335; C. SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, vol. V, cols. 646-651; H. CORDIER, *Histoire générale de la Chine*, vol. III, pp. 261, 322; H. BERNARD, "Les sources mongoles et chinoises de l'atlas Martini (1655)," *Monumenta Serica*, vol. XII (1947, Peiping), pp. 127-144.

who in 1600 petitioned Queen ELIZABETH to grant them a charter for establishing the East India Company (69). Thereafter many Dutch publications on the Far East translated into English appeared on the book market of London. It was JOHN OGILBY who, by his publications, contributed considerably to knowledge of China and Japan. OGILBY (most probably an Irishman) was influenced by A. KIRCHER.

After adventurous beginnings in life, J. OGILBY (70) turned to the publishing business in which he enjoyed the royal favour of CHARLES II. This accounts for the somewhat strange title he liked to add to his name as a publisher: "His Majesties Cosmographer, Geographick Printer and Master of the Revels in the Kingdom of Ireland." In London, at White Friars, he printed many magnificent books illustrated, or as he expressed it, "adorned with sculpture," by HOLLAR and other famous engravers of the time. In his last years, he published some geographical and travel books richly illustrated with engravings and maps. Among these belongs *An Embassy from the East-India Company of the United Provinces, to the Grand Tartar Cham Emperor of China* (71). This work was compiled from the JAN NIEWHOF's *L'Ambassade à la*

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(69) For the study of the rivalry between the Dutch and English traders consult, Sir WILLIAM FOSTER's *Letters Received by the East India Company*, London, 1933, or *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. V (Cambridge, 1929).

(70) Cf. *The Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. XIV (London, 1917), pp. 908-911.

(71) First edition 1669, folio, one vol. Second edition, in large folio, 1673, to which was added *Atlas Chinensis: Being a Second Part of A Relation of Remarkable Passages in two Embassies from the East-India Company of the United Provinces, to the Vice-Roy Singlamong and General Taising Lipovi, and to Konchi, Emperor of China and East-Tartary...* London, printed by THOMAS JOHNSON for the author, 1671. The full title of 2-nd ed. of *An Embassy*, so characteristic of the seventeenth century, is: *An Embassy from the East-India Company of the United Provinces, to the Grand Tartar Cham Emperor of China, deliver'd by their Excellencies Peter de Goyer and Jacob de Keyser, at His Imperial City of Peking. Wherein the cities, towns, villages, ports, rivers, etc. in their passages from Canton to Peking, are ingeniously described, by Mr. John Nieuhoff, Steward to the Ambassadors. Also an epistle of Father John Adams their antagonist, concerning the whole negotiation. With an Appendix of several remarks taken out of Father Athanasius Kircher. English'd, and set forth with their several sculptures, by John Ogilby Esqu; His Majesties Cosmographer, Geographick Printer, and Master of the Revels in the Kingdom of Ireland. The second edition. London, Printed by the Author at his House White-Fraries. M.D.C.LXXIII.*

*Chine de la Compagnie Orientale des Provinces-Unies* (72) vers l'Empereur de la Chine, and KIRCHER's *China illustrata*. It seems, however, that OGILBY was fascinated by that part of KIRCHER's book which was taken from the work of BOYM, whom the English author-publisher called BOEM.

It should be remarked that in seventeenth century England there were exceptional cases in which authors published their own works. Evidently OGILBY was dissatisfied with the first edition, illustrated by JOHN MACOCK, an artist of mediocre reputation, with its rather ordinary typographical setting (73). Accordingly he printed the second edition himself, on superb paper, and beautifully executed the whole graphic composition. The material taken from *China illustrata*, is much of it in abridged form. Most of the illustrations are inversed. In the "An appendix : or Special remarks taken at large out of ATHANASIUS KIRCHER's *Antiquities of China*" (pp. 319-431), chapter II is concerned with BOYM's translation of the Hsi-an-fu Inscription (pp. 325-328). It opens with the words : "Father Michael Boym, a Polonian, of the Society of Jesus, wisheth all Happines to the well affected Reader," taken from the letter of BOYM describing the Christian monument of Hsi-an-fu (pp. 329-334). It ends with "A paraphrastical Declaration of the Chinese Inscription, Translated word for word out of the Chinese Language into the Portugese, out of that into Italian, and from the Italian into the Latin Tongue." Here OGILBY confused KIRCHER's remarks on the previous translations of Semedo, with BOYM's genuine, direct translation of the Si-an-fu Inscription from the Chinese. He has not reprinted BOYM's translation with the numbers over the transcribed words and corresponding Latin version (see Latin edition of *China illustrata*, pp. 13-35, 225-236) (74).

Other material of BOYM taken from *China illustrata* by "His Majestic Cosmographer" is :

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(72) In folio, 2 vols., Amsterdam, 1665. Dutch edition, *Het Gezantschap der Neêrlandsche Oost-Indische Compagnie, ... dor Joan Nieuwhof*. Amsterdam, ... 1665; see also *Bibliotheca Sinica*, vol. III, cols. 2344-2348. English translation was done from Latin edition, *Legatio Batavica ad magnum Tartariae Chamum Sungteium modernae Sinae imperatorem...* Amstelodami, ... 1668.

(73) The front engraving by HOLLARD, dated 1668.

(74) *Vide infra*.



"Of strange Beasts or Animals in China" (pp. 411-414). OGILBY dwells longer on the hippopotamus, how it was hunted in Mosambique, and on the medical value of its teeth.

"Of several Fowls no where found but in China" (pp. 414-415). Apparently OGILBY had not seen BOYM's *Flora Sinensis* published in Vienna, 1654.

"Of the serpents of China" (pp. 416-419).

"On the Hieroglyphical Characters of the Chinese" (pp. 429-431). This is a very much condensed description, relating for the most part of the "manner of writing" Chinese ideograms and is illustrated with one engraving.

The English translator was much interested in the illustrations taken from *Flora Sinensis*, and inserted by A. KIRCHER in his book, and included nine nicely executed engravings facing pp. 681, 686, 687 and advised the reader that "particular description of both these Fruits (i.e. Lung-yen and Li-chi) may be seen in the foremention'd Author MICHAEL BOEM, in his Book call'd *Flores sinarum regionis*," a title which OGILBY repeats from KIRCHER. Pp. 411-431 correspond to *China illustrata*'s pp. 176-205, and 225-236.

Although vol. II of *An Embassy*, known under the separate title of *Atlas Chinensis*, is not taken from KIRCHER's book, but A. MONTANUS' work, as is mentioned in the title of the volume, OGILBY included (pp. 678-697) BOYM's plants with those of MONTANUS (pp. 678-697). KIRCHER's part II (pp. 46-115), *De variis itineribus in Chinam susceptis* is freely translated under the title "Of the various Voyages and Travels undertaken into China" (pp. 341-319) with sub-title "By whom, and by what means the Holy Gospel of Christ was at divers times introduc'd into the uttermost Regions of the East, into India, Tartaria, China, and other Countries of Asia." This was followed (pp. 393-399) by the chapter entitled "Some special Remarks taken out of ATHANASIUS KIRCHER's Antiquities of China," which corresponded to pp. 212-224 of *China illustrata*, *De architectonica coeterisque mechanicis artibus Sinensium*.

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To the research scholar the *China illustrata* has another particular value, i.e. for its many illustrations. Here are two early maps

of China of good cartographical exactness (facing pp. 2 and 46), rare portraits of MATTHAEUS RICCI and PAULUS HSÜ (fac. p. 114) (75), young emperor K'ANG HSI (1655-1723, fac. p. 184). ADAM SCHALL VON BELL (fac. p. 185), and of KIRCHER himself (fac. p. 1) in his sixty second year of life. Outside of these, there are also 30 plates and 67 illustrations mostly relating to China, however, some of them are connected with India. Also a table of the famous Christian Inscription (A D 781) of Hsi-an-fu in Chinese characters with Syriac names of the Nestorians priests and missionaries is inserted. These prints, executed by the masterly hand of an engraver, were "fascinating in their novelty" (76), and exoticism. They become a prototype for the seventeenth century illustrations and even for the eighteenth, appearing in various compilations relating to China. These engravings became a pattern and example for the illustrations of voluminous editions of "travels," or "descriptions" of exotic countries published by THEVENOT and CRAMOISY of Paris, OGILBY and WATT of London (77). and for the book of JEAN BAPTISTE DU HALDE (78). KIRCHER took his illustration from the same material which he used for the bulk of the text. For an European student of the history of science in China there are interesting pictures of Chinese *Flora* and *Fauna*, as well as illustrations of the evolution of Chinese

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(75) Under the portrait KIRCHER wrote his name by mistake as LIJ: "Lij Paulus magnus Sinarum colaus, legis Christianae propagator." He is known also as "Doctor Paul," but his Chinese name is HSÜ, KUANG-CH'I (1562-1633). He was a scholar, and a high court official, baptized by RICCI's companion JEAN DE ROCHA under the name PAUL. He worked with RICCI in Peking translating works on mathematics, hydraulics, astronomy and geography. He is the first Chinese scholar and translator of European books of science into the Chinese language. Cf. ARTHUR W. HUMMEL, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912)*, vol. I. Pp. 316-319. L. PFISTER, *passim*, see vol. II, p. 1088, *sub* SIU WEN-TING; also HENRI BERNARD, S. J., *Matteo Ricci's Scientific Contribution to China*. Peking, 1935.

(76) ARNOLD H. ROWBOTHAM, *Missionary and Mandarin. The Jesuits at the Court of China*, p. 247. Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1942. Prof. ROWBOTHAM mentioning about *China illustrata*, p. 3311, n. 7, refers to the second Latin edition of 1672, which seems never existed.

(77) Cf. H. CORDIER, *Mélanges d'histoire et de géographie orientales* (Paris, 1914, 4 vols), vol. I, p. 75 *et seq.*; *idem* "Notes pour servir à l'histoire des études chinoises en Europe, jusqu'à l'époque de FOURMONT l'aîné," *Nouveaux mélanges orientaux* (Paris, 1886), pp. 399-429.

(78) See footnote 11, and SAMUEL COULING, *The Encyclopaedia Sinica* (Shanghai, 1917), pp. 149-150.

ideograms and their supposed origin from the Egyptian hieroglyphs. And in that respect they are very rare and of documentary significance. In addition to the illustrative character of *China illustrata* the whole book is aiming to please the reader with initials, cuttings, ornamental endings of the chapters, and so on. It seems that polyhistor KIRCHER worked out his *magnum opus* not without some pride, which could be supposed from the pan-egerical inscription engraved on his portrait : “ Frustra vel pictor, vel vates dixerit, hic est : et vultum, et nomen terra scit antipodum.”

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